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Atkinson, Edward

1. Cost of a National Cine
2. Bill of Post & Prentiss
with suppl.

I. THE COST OF A NATIONAL CRIME.

II. THE HELL OF WAR AND ITS PENALTIES.

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TWO TREATISES

SUGGESTED BY THE APPOINTMENT OF A DAY OF

NATIONAL THANKSGIVING

BY THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

EDWARD ATKINSON,

OF

BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.



THIS PAMPHLET
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
UPON WHOM NOW RESTS
A FEARFUL RESPONSIBILITY.

"O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand
(For what can war but endless war still breed?).
Till truth and right from violence be freed,
And public faith clear'd from the shameful brand
Of public fraud."

Gift

Milton.

2 May 65

I.

THE COST OF A NATIONAL CRIME.

ANALYSIS OF THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED STATES, PAST AND FUTURE.

"I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That by our code of morality would be criminal aggression.

— WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"April 11, 1898."

Many problems are now pending in respect to the past and future of national taxation which may be stated in the following terms:

First. What are the necessary or normal peace expenditures of this Government when economically administered?

Second. From what sources have these revenues been derived?

Third. Was the revenue derived under the act known as the Dingley Bill sufficient to meet the normal or peace expenditures in the last fiscal year?

Fourth. Was it likely to suffice in the present fiscal year except for the war with Spain?

Fifth. Will the Dingley Bill with the recent war revenue act combined yield a sufficient revenue to meet the probable future expenditures, assuming that the surplus cash in the Treasury at the beginning of the war and the proceeds of the war loan of \$200,000,000 will have sufficed to cover the cost of the war, which may now be assumed?

In order to develop the facts in the case the official figures of the last fiscal year will be given and analyzed per capita.

These figures will then be compared per capita with the figures of the previous twenty years, 1878 to 1897 inclusive.

The per capita method of comparison, often very delusive, is in this case the only fit standard, because it gives an accurate standard of the economy or otherwise of each variation in our fiscal policy, and also because down to the enactment of the recent war revenue measures the taxes have been derived almost wholly from articles of common use and consumption, and have therefore been borne in much greater measure by consumers without distinction than with regard to their relative earnings or incomes and their ability to pay.

I.

What are the necessary or normal expenditures of the Government economically administered?

From 1878 to 1897 inclusive, a period of twenty years, the standard or unit of value was gold, and all transactions were substantially at that standard, specie payment on a gold basis having been resumed Jan. 1, 1879. In the short period covered by this term antecedent to that date the so-called premium on gold was so small as to be a negligible element in the case.

The following table gives the facts:

POPULATION, NET REVENUE, AND NET EXPENDITURES OF THE GOVERNMENT FROM 1878
TO 1897 (JUNE 30), PER CAPITA OF THE REVENUES AND PER CAPITA OF
EXPENDITURES

Year.	Population.	Net revenue.	Per capita of revenue.	Net expenses.	Per capita of expenditures.	President.
1878	47,598,000	\$257,763,879 00	5.42	\$236,964,327 00	4.98	Hayes.
1879	48,866,000	273,827,184 00	5.60	166,947,884 00	5.46	
1880	50,155,783	333,526,611 00	6.65	267,642,958 00	5.34	
1881	51,316,000	360,782,293 00	7.00	260,712,888 00	5.08	
1882	52,495,000	403,525,250 00	7.68	257,981,410 00	4.91	Arthur.
1883	53,694,000	398,287,582 00	7.41	265,408,138 00	4.94	
1884	54,911,000	348,519,870 00	6.36	244,126,244 00	4.44	
1885	56,118,000	323,690,706 00	5.76	260,226,935 00	4.63	
1886	57,404,000	333,439,727 00	5.86	242,483,138 00	4.22	Cleveland.
1887	58,680,000	371,403,277 00	6.33	267,932,179 00	4.56	
1888	59,974,000	379,266,075 00	6.32	¹ 267,924,801 00	4.46	
1889	61,289,000	387,050,059 00	6.31	² 299,288,978 00	4.88	
1890	62,622,250	403,080,982 00	6.43	³ 318,040,710 00	5.07	Harrison.
1891	63,975,000	392,612,447 31	6.14	⁴ 365,773,905 35	5.71	
1892	65,516,000	354,937,784 24	5.42	345,023,330 58	5.27	
1893	66,946,000	385,819,628 78	5.76	383,477,954 49	5.73	
1894	68,397,000	297,722,019 25	4.37	367,525,279 83	5.37	Cleveland.
1895	69,878,000	313,390,075 11	4.48	356,195,298 29	5.10	
1896	71,390,000	326,976,200 38	4.58	352,179,446 08	4.93	
1897	72,937,000	347,721,705 16	4.77	365,774,159 57	5.01	
		\$6,993,343,355 23	5.81	\$5,891,629,994 19	4.97	

¹ This includes \$8,270,842.46 of "premiums on purchase of bonds."

² This includes \$17,292,362.65

³ This includes \$20,304,224.06

⁴ This includes \$10,401,220.61

FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1898.

Year.	Population.	Net revenue.	Per capita of revenue.	Net expenses.	Per capita of expenditures.	President.
1898	74,389,000	\$339,327,981 11	4.56	\$443,368,582 00	5.96	McKinley.

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS 1878-1897, INCLUSIVE.

(Made up by the compiler from annual reports slightly varying in the total from a final official summary given above in the total.)

	REVENUES.	Amount.	Per capita.
Liquors and tobacco, domestic and foreign,		\$2,954,435,557	\$2.476
Sugar and molasses, 1878 to 1890 at 90c.,	\$638,687,909		
1891 to 1897	\$119,921,302		
Less bounties paid	35,000,000	81,921,302	723,609,211 .606
Miscellaneous receipts		545,871,102	.457
Internal taxes other than liquors and tobacco		138,460,194	.116
Income from general tariff, omitting liquors, tobacco, and sugar		2,575,842,070	2.16
Total		\$6,936,218,134	\$5.810

EXPENDITURES.				
Civil service	\$1,603,276,987.81	\$1.34		
War	877,582,140.47	.74		
Navy	422,336,204.95	.35		
Indians	163,005,042.80	.14	\$3,066,200,376.03	\$2.57
Pensions	1,802,684,568.94	1.51		
Interest	1,062,649,831.00	.89	2,865,304,399.94	2.40
			<u>\$5,931,504,775.97</u>	<u>\$4.97</u>
Excess rev. '78 to '93, inc.,	\$1,160,577,543			
Deficiency, '94 to '97, inc.,	155,864,184			
Net payment of debt			1,004,713,359.00	.84
			<u>\$6,936,218,134.97</u>	<u>\$5.81</u>
Total				

II.

From what sources have the revenues been derived?

A glance at the above statement discloses the fact that the revenue from liquors and tobacco averaged:

Two dollars and forty-seven cents per head	\$2.476
Small internal taxes on banks, oleomargarine, etc. . . . .	.116
Miscellaneous permanent receipts . . . . .	.457
Sugar and molasses . . . . .	.606
Miscellaneous duties on imports other than liquors, tobacco, and sugar	2.160
	<u>\$5.815</u>

The excess of 84 cents per head of revenue above expenditures yield, \$1,004,713,359 surplus, which was applied to the reduction of the debt.

It will be remarked that the revenue from sugar and molasses from 1878 to 1890 came to 90 cents per head. The duties on sugar abated under the McKinley act, partially restored under the Wilson act, were under the Dingley act somewhat less than from 1878 to 1890.

Had these duties been maintained from 1891 to 1898 at 90 cents there would have been no deficiency in the revenue except the war expenditures of the present year, but on the contrary a surplus of about one hundred and fifty million dollars (\$150,000,000) to be added to the previous reduction of debt.

It will also be remarked that the revenue from liquors and tobacco, \$2.476, with the small internal revenue taxes added, .116, making \$2.592, covered the normal cost of conducting the government, including the cost of what is called the new navy, leaving only interest and pensions to be covered by revenue from all other sources.

It will also be remarked that if twenty years is a sufficient period on which to base a rule, the normal expenditures of the nation are five dollars per head (\$5), at which rate they are less than half the expenditures of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, where the burden of national taxation in ratio to person is much less than in any other State or nation on the Continent of Europe where militarism and compulsory service in army or navy renders the masses of the people subordinate to the military classes: very much less in ratio to the annual product.

III.

Was the revenue derived under the Dingley bill sufficient to meet the normal expenditures in the last fiscal year?

A comparison of the items will disclose the facts.

Statement of revenue under the Dingley act in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898:

	Amount.	Per capita.
Spirits and wines	\$97,668,838	\$1.31
Beer	40,135,722	.54
Tobacco	46,146,805	.62
	<hr/> \$183,951,365	<hr/> \$2.47
Small internal revenues	2,607,699	.04
	<hr/> \$186,559,064	<hr/> \$2.51
Miscellaneous: Permanent receipts	18,852,278	.25
Sugar and molasses	29,378,938	.40
	<hr/> \$231,790,280	<hr/> \$3.16
Miscellaneous duty other than liquors, tobacco, and sugar	104,537,701	1.40
	<hr/> \$339,327,981	<hr/> \$4.56

It, therefore, appears that the Dingley act did not yield the necessary sum, five dollars per head, for the conduct of the government economically administered. The deficiency was forty-four cents per head, which being computed on the estimated population of 74,389,000 persons amounts to \$32,731,160.

The actual expenditures of the Government were greatly increased by the war with Spain, amounting to five dollars and ninety-six cents per head			\$5.96	\$413,368,582
Revenue			4.56	339,327,981
Revenue deficiency			\$1.40	\$104,040,601
Received from Union Pacific R.R.				65,993,354
Actual deficiency				<hr/> \$38,047,247

A comparison of the revenue under the Dingley bill with the receipts per capita under the previous systems, of 1883, the McKinley bill, and the Wilson bill combined, will be interesting.

SUBJECT OF TAXATION.	Revenue per capita year by year, 1878 to 1897 inc.	Revenue per capita under Dingley bill.
Liquors and tobacco	\$2.476	\$2.17
Small internal revenue . . . . .	.116	.04
Miscellaneous permanent . . . . .	.457	.25
Sugar . . . . .	.606	.40
Miscellaneous imports other than liquors, tobacco, and sugar	2.160	1.40
	<hr/> \$5.81	<hr/> \$4.56

It will be observed that the deficiency on duties on imports other than liquors, tobacco, and sugar is 76 cents per head as compared to previous acts, which amounts in round figures to \$57,000,000.

IV.

Would the Dingley bill have yielded a revenue in the present fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, sufficient to meet the normal rate of expenditure under normal conditions at \$5 per head?

The total revenue on the computed population June 1, 1898, which is the date established in the practice of the Treasury Department for ascertaining the per capita of receipts and expenditures at \$5 per head on an estimated population of 76,011,000, would amount to \$380,055,000.

Bearing in mind that the revenue in the last fiscal year was at the rate of \$4.56 per head, was attained under the disadvantage of a very large stock of sugar imported before the increase of duty, and that the tax on tea had only begun to yield revenue, it is probable that the present revenue taxes on sugar,

tobacco, and tea will come to an increase of not less than 44 cents per head. On the other hand, the import of goods which are subject to the miscellaneous duties is diminishing notwithstanding the exhaustion of any stock imported before the Dingley bill came into force, July 24, 1897. On the whole, it may be deemed fairly probable that the Dingley act without the subsequent war taxes would have yielded \$5 per head, but this favorable view is rendered doubtful by the diminishing imports of miscellaneous dutiable goods since June 30. In this estimate, however, many facts must be considered in comparing the very small yield of revenue from the miscellaneous duties under the Dingley act, of \$1.40 per head, with the \$2.16 yielded on the average of the previous twenty years.

No considerable revenue may hereafter be counted on from metals and metallic goods—formerly yielding a large revenue. No sum of any moment will be secured from iron, steel, or copper, or their products, which formerly yielded a large revenue. Supremacy in making the steel plates which are the principal element in the cost of tin plates has been coupled with the substitution of machinery for the hand work of Wales in this branch of industry. Under these conditions a relatively very small force of skilled workmen at high wages are enabled to convert black plates into tin plates at so low a cost that it is more likely that we shall become large exporters of tin plates, rather than importers. The duties on wool are yielding much less than the expected revenue, having raised the cost of imported wool so much as to have forced the manufacturers to resort to cotton and shoddy as a substitute. Aside from these subjects of former revenue the progress in many other manufactured products formerly imported has enabled us to export rather than to import. It therefore follows that even if the miscellaneous duties of the Dingley bill were reduced for the purpose of increasing the revenue, the result would probably be followed by as great a disappointment as has followed the enactment of the Dingley act, which was expected to increase the revenue in the sum of \$112,000,000—if I rightly recall the speech of the framer on its introduction, which sum had it been realized, would have carried the per capita revenue in the last fiscal year to six dollars (\$6) per head in place of four dollars and fifty-six cents (\$4.56) actually yielded.

V.

Will the Dingley bill, with the receipts that may be expected from the war revenue taxes now in force, suffice to meet the future expenditures on the assumption that the surplus in the Treasury at the beginning of the war, with the proceeds of the war loan of \$200,000,000, will have sufficed to cover the actual cost of the active war—which is a fair assumption?

The answer to this question will depend wholly upon the more important question of how long we must endure this state of passive war into which the active war with Spain has brought us. By passive war is meant:

First. To what extent are we to convert our navy, now more than ample for defensive purposes, into an offensive force.

Second. In what numbers, at what cost, and for what length of time are we to be subject to the burden of maintaining great armed forces in the Philippine Islands, in Cuba, and in Porto Rico; also in Hawaii, if expensive fortifications and naval stations are undertaken, where only a police force of not over two hundred picked men will be required to keep order.

Third. In what measure and to what numbers will the burden of pensions be augmented for the support of the very large proportion of the white troops (or their widows and children), who will either die of climatic diseases or be disabled by fevers, malaria, and venereal disease, so as to be more or less incapable of self-support after the term has expired of their enlistment, or for which they may hereafter be drafted.

Fourth. How much will the present revenue from sugar and tobacco be diminished when the products of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands come under the same revenue acts as those which now apply to the United States and to Hawaii.

It has been made plain that the utmost revenue that can be hoped for under the Dingley act may be five dollars per head	\$5.00
In that computation the duties on sugar must go up from 40 cents to 75 cents per head, while the disadvantage of foreign tobacco on account of duties may now be about 5 cents per head. Sum of reduction not less than, probably more . . . . .	.80
Remainder	\$4.20
The war revenue act is now yielding a little less than two dollars per head and may be safely computed at that sum, as the chief sources are from the stamp taxes, which took effect at their probable per capita maximum at once, and the increase on beer which will not probably diminish its consumption. Additional war taxes	2.00
Total	\$6.20

On this estimate the increase in revenue above the normal expenditures of five dollars per head will be one dollar and twenty cents, which, assessed on the computed population of the present fiscal year, would yield only \$91,213,200 — a sum probably wholly insufficient to meet the increasing burden of the state of passive war which the occupation of the Philippine Islands, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii has imposed upon the taxpayers of this country. Others have computed the loss of revenue on sugar, tobacco, rice, fruits, and other products of the Philippine and West India Islands, when brought under the revenue acts of the United States and Hawaii, at \$100,000,000, or over \$1.25 per head. See Mr. Herbert Myrick's address to the National Grange Conference, in Concord, N H.

Under these conditions the public will wait with some impatience for the development of the proposed policy of the Secretary of the Treasury in meeting the danger of a continuous deficit and with great anxiety for the message of the President on the existing conditions of passive war.

Congress may then be called upon to decide whether or not this condition of passive war in the holding of tropical islands by armed forces is to cease at an early day or is to be continued under the necessity of adding by direct taxation a large sum to our present burden, coupled with a heavy increase in the future burden, in order to provide annually for a very large portion of each year's enlisted men who will be annually disabled by fever, malaria, and venereal disease.

The figures used in this analysis for the last fiscal year are from official data, subject to very slight changes in the ensuing report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

I have endeavored to present the exact data on which every person can compute the probable cost of the imperial or expansion policy as it is now called.

I will append one question to each reader.

How much increase of taxation are you willing to bear, and how many of your neighbors' sons are you ready to sacrifice by fever, malaria, and venereal disease in order to extend the sovereignty of the United States over the West Indies and the Philippine Islands? By such policy we throw away our previous exemption from militarism, which constitutes one of our chief advantages in establishing low cost of production coupled with high rates of wages or earnings, — computed by myself at six per cent. per annum on our total annual product, — by which advantage we were attaining a paramount control of trade on the export of our goods to every port of the world of commerce.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

II.

THE HELL OF WAR AND ITS PENALTIES.

President McKinley said rightly that to allow a war undertaken in the name of humanity to be perverted into a war of conquest would be a crime, but I doubt if he was fully aware of the penalty which would at once be met by the criminal nation.

A war of conquest or any permanent occupation of tropical countries by white troops brings not only fevers and malaria upon them of well-known kinds, but yet worse, more fatal and more certain to bring moral and physical degeneration upon them, is the infection of venereal disease.

There are many good people whose sympathies have been aroused by the anticipation of being enabled to carry the benefits of Protestant Christianity and of personal liberty to the oppressed in the West Indies and the Philippine Islands. We may even admit all that is urged in favor of making the conquest of these islands upon these grounds, but before we undertake this philanthropic enterprise may it not be judicious to count the cost? I do not mean the money cost and the necessity which has lately been made very plain of adding new taxes even to the war revenues now being collected. That burden we can bear if we must. The greater cost will be the corruption of the blood through the infection of every force that will be annually called out to maintain our rule.

It may be well to ask all who are imbued with this missionary sympathy, how many young men of our own brotherhood are you willing to sacrifice for each convert? How many of your own sons will you expose to sure infection and degeneration in the conduct of your philanthropic purpose? Or will you satisfy your own consciences by consenting to the necessary conscription of other people's sons when it presently becomes impossible to maintain our armed forces in these islands without a draft?

I know that this is a very unsavory subject and that I am using terms which are not commonly spoken aloud, but it happens that in the course of my social studies my attention has been called to this social evil, and I think I should be wanting in my duty if I did not call public attention to the dangers in the plainest way.

To that end I lately addressed a letter to President McKinley, of which the following is a slightly condensed copy:

“PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY:

“SIR: I venture to present a protest against any longer occupation of the Philippine Islands, of Cuba, and of Porto Rico, or the use of any larger forces than are needed to enable the people of these islands to frame and form a method of government under which personal liberty and individual rights may be established, and to enter upon this undertaking. Whether or not they are capable of maintaining such governments after their being enabled to do so by the removal of the Spanish rule is not a matter with which we have any permanent concern.

“I present this case, as hereinafter stated, in my personal capacity, pending the organization of what will probably become a great national Anti-Imperialist League, founded on the principles of Washington's Farewell Address, for

which the preparations are being made and the consultations are being had throughout the country.

"To the extent named the burden of temporary occupation must be assumed; beyond that, any exercise of dominion or sovereignty would be as unwarranted in principle and as inconsistent with the maintenance of our republican institutions as it would be dangerous to the armed forces required.

"The political wrong of assuming sovereignty by force over any part of these islands after a war undertaken in the name of humanity has been so forcefully stated by yourself that no words of mine could bring out the iniquity of such a course more plainly, but it is feared that your hand may be forced again, as it was apparently, into a premature declaration of war by the acts of Senators whose apparent judicial reports of what they thought they saw in Cuba were disproved a week later by one of the constituents of the one who had the most influence, who followed after him, and has since been fully disproved by the facts of the case. It is therefore now the right and duty of every true and patriotic citizen to support you in resistance to these evil influences by bringing out in the plainest terms the physical and social dangers and evils which must and will ensue if large armed forces are kept upon land for any length of time upon any of these islands and from which naval forces can only be protected by keeping them off the land.

"The greatest and most unavoidable danger to which these forces will be exposed will neither be fevers nor malaria; it will be venereal diseases in their worst and most malignant form. It is this which has reduced the population of Hawaii to a degenerated remnant, four per cent. of whom are isolated under sentence of death from leprosy; a disease of a similar type, perhaps not from the same cause, which gives evidence of the utter degeneracy of these poor people. It is fortunate, on the testimony of one of the highest judicial officers of the Sandwich Islands lately in Boston, that no large armed force will be required in Hawaii, admitting that none such could be sustained without infection. His view is that one hundred and fifty to two hundred middle-aged men of established character would suffice for all the exhibition of force that may be needed to maintain order.

"The records of the British army in India and China, and the condition of the English troops in Hong Kong, lately reported to me by an English gentleman who has been studying social conditions throughout the world, are horrible in the extreme. He stated that fifty per cent. of the English troops in Hong Kong were infected with venereal disease every year. It is well known that while there may be an apparent cure this disease works corruption of the blood to the third and fourth generation, ending in degeneracy.

"The records of the Medical Department and the testimony of the visitors to our own camps in this country, coupled with the observations of members of Congress with whom I have consulted, prove that this phase of the hell of war had taken firm hold of our troops even before they had been exposed to the greater hazard at their points of destination in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Manila.

"The precautions reported to me by commercial men who are thoroughly familiar with the conditions of these places, especially Manila, made necessary even on the part of private persons lest the infection should be carried from lavatories and the like, indicate the utterly corrupt condition of all the principal cities in these islands.

"It is no time to mince words or to forbear plain speech under a false sense of delicacy. These words must be spoken. This danger must be publicly named and these facts must be widely known, and the exposure to the corruption of the young blood of this nation must be stopped. It is not a pleasant duty, but I shall assume this duty. The final responsibility will rest upon yourself and all who have authority. Unless you would invite the execration of the mothers of our

land and cause your administration to stand recorded in history with utter condemnation. you cannot ignore or slight these facts and this danger, which is an evil worse than death, worse than war; to try to ignore it and not to provide against it in every possible manner by avoiding the inclusion of these islands in our domain will be to the disgrace of those who shall bring this danger of corruption of the blood upon our country, — a greater disgrace than all other losses of honor combined.

“ Measures are being taken to bring conclusive evidence of the facts which I have stated before Congress at the earliest possible date. I have sent to England for the medical records. I trust that you will order the Commission now engaged in the investigation of the war to deal with this subject.

“ I pledge to you the support of every right-minded man and woman in your effort to carry out your declared purpose of limiting the exercise of force by this country to the cause of humanity without permitting it to degenerate into a war of conquest. ‘Imperialism,’ so-called, is an evil in all its phases, whether viewed from the political or economical side, but it is more sure to promote moral, physical, and social degradation than it is to work evil in any other direction.

“ It is my purpose as soon as our organizations are completed, and as fast as measures can be taken, to give publicity to these facts throughout the country.

“ I hope it may be consistent with your present duty to reply to this letter for publication, to the end that we may again have occasion to express our sympathy with you for the difficult position in which you have been placed, and to give you the assurance of our continued support; not only Republicans, but the great body of Independent and Sound Money Democrats who turned the scale in the presidential election, who will give you continued assurance of their support in the declaration which you made against the perversion of the war conducted in the name of humanity into a war of conquest. That perversion is now disguised by those who advocate it, but the forced extension of the sovereignty of this nation over great populations who can never be assimilated with us politically, socially, or industrially is nothing more and nothing less than for this country to undertake a war of conquest which will be condemned and is condemned by every right-minded man and woman in our land.

“ I know from previous experience how dense is the screen by which the supporters of bad measures attempt to surround the chief executive of the nation. When the Inflation Bill of 1874 was impending, Vice-President Wilson called upon me, — knowing I had a wide correspondence with sound money men throughout the West; he stated to me that under the pressure which was being brought to bear upon the President in Washington he was being misled into the belief that public opinion required him to sign the Inflation Bill, and Mr. Wilson called upon me to bring to bear upon him the true public opinion of the country to the utmost of my ability. I immediately telegraphed to a number of men in the great Western cities who had agreed to act together in any emergency to send in protests against the Inflation Bill day by day, signed by a few men of prominence, — preferably those known to the President, — while protesting meetings in New York and Boston were immediately organized, the latter by myself. The evidence was thus placed before President Grant of an overwhelming kind, that he was being misled and deceived by the advocates of bad legislation who surrounded him.

“ After his term had expired I met President Grant. He turned the conversation to the financial issue, saying to me that I was entitled to know the history of the veto of the Inflation Bill. He said, ‘I had prepared a message to accompany the bill signed, stating my objection to it, and that I had yielded to what I assumed to be the public opinion of the country; but presently the protests came in to me from the leading men of all the great Western cities accompanied by the

New York and Boston meetings, and I found that the true public opinion of the country would sustain me in doing what was right and what I knew would be right. I read over the message which I had written to accompany the bill signed. I said to myself, this is all sophistry. I do not believe it myself, and no one else will believe it. I tore it up and substituted the veto message.* To which I replied, 'Veto and Vicksburg, — the victory of Peace and the victory of War.' You now have the opportunity, supported as you will be by the true public opinion of this country, to emulate the example of that grand man to maintain peace, order, and industry without violating the principles laid down in Washington's Farewell Address, and without violating the spirit of the Constitution. In that you may rest assured of the continued support of all men to whom you would resort for cool, deliberate, and sound judgment throughout the country.

“ Yours with great respect,

“ EDWARD ATKINSON.

“ BOSTON, Nov. 14, 1898.”

III.

TREATISE SUBMITTED AT THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AT THE MEETING HELD IN BOSTON ON AUGUST 25, 1898.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

HOW TO INCREASE EXPORTS.

It is a common remark that the machinery which is now applied to production in the United States is so effective on nearly every line of work that a few months' time, varying in different estimates from six to nine, would suffice to meet the necessary consumption of the people of this country under normal conditions. Hence the necessity for foreign markets. I believe all these estimates are exaggerated. There is but one product, cotton, of which more than one-half is exported. There are miscellaneous products of agriculture, such as grain, provisions, and dairy products, — of which the export varies from ten (10) to twenty (20) per cent. of the farm value, changing according to conditions and according to the relative product of this and other countries. There are very few branches of what are called manufacturing industries of which we now export in excess of ten (10) per cent., and from that down to a fraction of the total product.

Yet with here and there an exceptional period due to special conditions, such as the wide discredit and paralysis of industry which followed the silver craze of 1893, it is not often that the means of production of manufactured goods have been largely in excess of the consumption. The real truth is that it is now possible to increase productive mechanism either on the field, in the forest, in the mine or the factory, with very great rapidity, thus very quickly meeting a renewed demand after a period of depression or any new export demand which may be opened. Supply is, therefore, pressing on demand, and the relief of exports is, therefore, a constant need. It is also true that with the exception of a very few branches of industry, such as the woollen and worsted manufacture, in which, however low the prices may be, the cost of domestic production is yet greatly enhanced in this as compared to competing countries by heavy taxes on wool and other materials of foreign origin which are supplied to our competitors free of taxation, there is hardly a branch of production fitted to the climate of this country, either in agriculture, forestry, metallurgy, or manufacturing, in which we have not now such an advantage over other countries as to enable us to increase our exports in very large measure so far as the power of export rests on the cost of the production of any article which is in demand in foreign countries.

VAST INCREASE IN EXPORTS.

The exports of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, before the foreign scarcity of grain had exerted any considerable influence, exceeded a thousand million dollars (\$1,000,000,000) in value. The exports of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve hundred million dollars (\$1,200,000,000) in value; the gain in the export of manufactured goods being relatively almost as great as the gain in the export of the products of agriculture even under the influence of the scarcity which prevailed in Europe. These goods consist of nearly every crude, partly manufactured, and finished product of the country, with the exceptions named;

namely, those of which the cost has been relatively enhanced by taxes on the import of the materials. These goods are sent to every corner of the globe.

Large quantities go to the manufacturing States of Europe with which we compete, notwithstanding the fact that the wages which are recovered from the sale of these goods in this country are twenty-five (25) to one hundred (100) per cent. higher than they are in the manufacturing countries of Europe. Our goods are also sent in competition with the manufacturers of Europe to continents, nations, and States, in which the rates of wages are not one-quarter, and in some cases not one-tenth, as much as the wages earned on wheat and on other similar products are in this country. If the rate of wages governed the cost of labor, not one dollar's worth of any of our products could be sent to any part of the globe in competition with the products of the labor of other countries.

TO WHAT OUR SUPREMACY IS DUE.

Our manifest supremacy is due to several causes: First, This is the only manufacturing country which produces within its own area an excess of food, of fuel, of timber, of every metal except tin, an excess of cotton, the most important fibre. We do not produce an excess of wool, but whenever common sense is applied to the production of wool in the cotton States, alternately or concurrently with cotton on the same fields, we shall become large exporters of wool. It is not probable that we shall ever produce our own raw silk; certainly not so long as the reeling of the silk from the cocoon must be done by hand.

Our second paramount advantage is this: Our national taxes do not exceed two and a half (2½) per cent. upon our annual product, of which they constitute a share set apart for the support of government. Even with the increase of taxation which may follow the present war, our national taxes cannot exceed four (4) per cent. of our product. I compute the national taxes of Great Britain, which are double ours per head, and which are derived from a lesser product, at six (6) to seven (7), possibly eight (8), per cent.; Germany at ten (10) per cent.; France at fifteen (15) to eighteen (18) per cent.; while in poor Italy it is alleged that the national expenditures absorb a third of the entire product. Such are the relative disadvantages of militarism.

From the best information and study of the systems of taxation of all countries I am of opinion that the advantage of this country in the ratio which taxation for national purposes bears to the total annual product is not less than 4 per cent. in our favor, as compared to Great Britain, and from 8 to 15 per cent. as compared to the manufacturing States of continental Europe. Our average advantage is not less than 6 per cent. upon our total product. Now, as 6 per cent. is a large margin to be carried to profit and loss account in this country, where other countries would have no margin, we may deem our advantages in this matter apparently established unless we ourselves have the folly to enter upon a period of imperialism and militarism, with the consequent result of a very large increase in the burden of taxation.

Our third advantage is in the stimulus of climate applied throughout the more northern or distinctly manufacturing sections of the country to the most versatile, energetic, and well-trained body of workmen taken as a whole that can be found in the world. Under these conditions high wages have become a synonym for low cost of production, and we are now seeking how to extend the benefits of our commerce throughout the world.

PUBLIC MIND GRAVELY MOVED.

The public mind is being gravely moved on this question. Each section, each State, and the representatives of every branch of industry are turning their attention to the widening of their market. Admitting that the home market is and will

always be the largest and the most important, yet the representatives, especially of agriculture, have found out that the price of their entire product is fixed by what the surplus will bring for export. The export demand is the balance-wheel of the whole traffic of this country. The prosperity, indeed the very existence, of our present system of agriculture depends upon the development of exports, and since half the population is occupied either directly in agriculture or in the secondary processes of converting the crude products of the farm into their secondary forms for sale, the prosperity of manufacturers depends upon that of the farmers, who are their principal customers. May there not be a great deal of misdirected energy unless the principles which govern the trade and commerce are fully considered?

The paramount power of supplying nearly all the necessities of life, which the world must have at the highest rates of wages and the lowest cost of production, has fallen to the United States. The demand for these goods exists throughout the world, but the purchasing power which must exist in order to supply that demand is very limited. The reasons for this limitation must be considered, lest time be wasted in efforts to open trade with nations that have the least power of purchase, while we neglect States and nations which possess the greatest power.

THE DESTINATION OF OUR EXPORTS.

What makes the power of purchase of foreign countries? Before dealing with that question, the following facts and tables should be fully considered:

TABLE NO. 1.¹

Valuation and Destination of the Exports from the United States.

	Exports, 1885 to 1894.	Annual average.	Per cent. of total.	Approximate population.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland	\$4,060,135,619	\$406,013,562	51.12	40,000,000
British colonies and dependencies (white population 10,000,000, mixed 300,000,-000)	712,054,131	71,205,413	8.97	310,000,000
	\$4,772,189,750	\$477,218,975	60.09	350,000,000
France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium,	1,809,533,962	180,953,396	22.78	104,000,000
	\$6,581,723,712	\$658,172,371	82.87	
Russia, Austria, and other European States,	482,379,273	48,237,927	6.07	230,000,000
	\$7,064,102,985	\$706,410,298	88.94	
China, Japan, and other countries in Asia not under British rule	116,481,826	11,618,182	1.47	
Africa not under British control	6,847,818	684,782	.09	
Hawaiian, Philippine, and islands not British or Spanish	44,318,757	4,431,876	.56	612,000,000
Small unenumerated places	13,953,245	1,395,324	.17	
	\$7,245,733,631	\$724,573,462	91.23	
South America, omitting British Guiana, Spanish and French West Indies, Hayti, and San Domingo	295,285,939	29,528,584	3.70	36,000,000
	244,755,771	24,475,577	3.08	2,500,000
Mexico	113,517,519	11,351,752	1.43	12,000,000
Central America, omitting British Honduras	44,053,095	4,405,309	.56	3,500,000
United States . . . . .			..	70,000,000
	\$7,943,346,955	\$794,334,695	100	1,450,000,000

From the above table covering the export of ten (10) years, ending June 30, 1894, it will appear that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and her colonies bought from us in round figures sixty (60) per cent. of what we had to sell; France, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands twenty-three (23) per cent.; the rest of the world seventeen (17) per cent.

¹ Authority. Report of 1895, Bureau of Statistics, United States Treasury.

In the fiscal years ending June 30, 1895, 1896, and 1897, a slight change occurred, due to the increasing proportion of manufactures exported to other than British countries.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, although bad crops created an excessive demand for the products of agriculture among European States, yet the increasing exports of manufactured products to all parts of the world changed the relative proportions of foreign purchases in a considerable measure.

TABLE NO. 2.

Exports of the United States for Twelve Months ending June 30, 1898.

		Per cent.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland . . .	\$540,860,152	43.92
British colonies and dependencies :		
Gibraltar	\$304,829	
Malta	64,352	
Bermuda	998,941	
British Honduras	555,179	
British North America	84,911,260	
British West Indies	8,382,740	
British Guiana	1,792,912	
Australia	15,603,763	
British Africa	12,027,142	
British Asia	10,961,055	
	<hr/>	
	135,602,173	11.01
	<hr/>	
	\$676,462,325	54.93
Germany	\$155,039,972	
France	95,452,692	
Netherlands	64,274,622	
Belgium	47,606,311	
	<hr/>	
	\$362,373,597	29.43
Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, and all other European States	69,718,419	5.66
	<hr/>	
	\$1,108,554,341	90.02
South and Central America, Mexico, and West Indies not British, including Cuba and Porto Rico	77,194,168	6.27
Asia not British	33,863,213	2.75
Oceania not British, including Philippine Islands	6,387,618	.52
Africa not British	5,330,610	.44
	<hr/>	
	\$1,231,329,950	100.00

By this table it is made plain that in the last fiscal year the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland took from us a fraction under forty-four (44) per cent.; the British colonies and dependencies eleven (11) per cent.; France, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands twenty-nine and forty-three one hundredths (29.43) per cent.; Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the rest of Europe five and sixty-six one-hundredths (5.66), while Mexico, South and Central America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania other than British were able to buy from us only a fraction under ten (10) per cent. of what we had to sell.

HOW WE ARE PAID FOR EXPORTS.

But there is another aspect of this case which is of the most profound importance. How did Europe pay for our exports? In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, the import of goods was as follows, even a part of these imports consisting of Australian wool, Egyptian cotton, Russian hemp, and some other articles bought in London, which is the centre of trade :

	<i>Imports.</i>	
Great Britain		\$109,138,365
Germany		69,696,907
France		52,730,003
Belgium		8,741,826
Netherlands		12,535,110
		<hr/>
		\$252,842,211
Rest of Europe		53,249,603
		<hr/>
		\$306,091,814

It will be remarked that in round figures we sold food, fibres, and fabrics to European States to the amount of over nine hundred and seventy million dollars (\$970,000,000). We bought from Europe goods, including Australian wool and Egyptian cotton, to the amount of three hundred and six million dollars (\$306,000,000). The difference of over six hundred and fifty million dollars (\$650,000,000) was passed to our credit in gold by weight at the measure of the pound sterling, which is the standard or unit of value in the conduct of foreign commerce.

SILVER ENTHUSIASTS ARE ILLOGICAL.

This huge sum was subject to our drafts, which we made for such gold coin as we needed to sustain our credit, also for the purchase of our own securities returned to this country, by so much liquidating our foreign debt, now very small; lastly, for the purchase of our tea, coffee, sugar, and other products chiefly bought in States or continents where silver money or paper money is used for local purposes, securing at the gold standard double the quantity that could have been bought at the market price of silver. Yet, grotesquely strange as it may seem, there are still a few illogical persons in this country who sincerely believe that it would be for the benefit of our farmers and manufacturers to make silver dollars a full legal tender at the rate of sixteen of silver to one of gold, or at the ratio of a dollar twenty-nine and a half cents (\$1.29½) per ounce of silver, and thereby to enable our European debtors to pay us on our contracts for wheat and corn and cotton at that rate with coin made in our own mint for silver which costs the British silver miners less than twenty-five (25) cents an ounce, and on which they are still making very large profits and increasing their product on a market price of about fifty cents.

Is it not manifest that the trade with Europe cannot be long upon these terms unless we become large lenders of capital to European countries? We cannot year after year sell our products for double or more of the value of what we buy from Europe, drawing gold in payments. In one or two years we should drain every bank in Europe, and we should have no use for the gold of which we now have enough. We are adding year by year to our stock of gold the product of our own mines, more than ample to meet any possible need of an additional reserve. For this reason, if for no other, in order to keep our largest market we must open up our ports free from any obstruction except what is made necessary in imposing duties for revenue only, or else the whole of the present undertaking to increase our export trade will utterly fail. The non-machine-using nations of the world have not the purchasing power to relieve us of our excess, and will not have it for decades and perhaps generations.

OUR GREAT CONSUMING POWER.

In making an effort to increase our exports we must give regard to the factors which make the consuming and therefore the purchasing power of nations greater or less. The consuming power of the people of the United States is greater than that of any other State or nation, for the reason that its power of production in

ratio to numbers is in excess of all others. We number about five (5) per cent. of the population of the globe. Yet we consume more than a third part of the commercial product of iron and steel, and are rapidly increasing our proportion while at the same time making heavy exports. We consume more than twenty-five (25) per cent. of the commercial product of cotton, producing about sixty (60) per cent., subject to variation. We consume nearly twenty-five (25) per cent. of the commercial product of wool, being for the present slightly deficient in production.

We consume nearly twenty-five (25) per cent. of the commercial product of sugar, nearly half the commercial product of coffee. What proportion of the meats and other animal food we consume as compared to other nations it is impossible to say, but it is enormously in excess. In respect to food products in general, we produce vastly more than we can consume, and our potential in production cannot yet be measured. We have the greatest capacity in the production of coal at low cost as yet developed in any part of the world, especially of the coals suitable for conversion into coke, and thereby for the manufacture of steel. But in this matter inventions which give an almost certain promise of success in the conversion of coal into power without wasting energy upon light or heat may ere long change all the conditions of the world in the development of power.

In dealing with the purchasing power of other States we may be governed by the same rule. In the States in which the potential energy has been most fully developed we find the most abundant consumption of food of high nutrition, thereby giving the staying power of men who are occupied in the direction of machinery and modern tools. As we pass from one State to another we find its consuming and therefore its purchasing power diminishing with the lessened quantity and lower quality of the food consumed, and the lessened staying power in the application of labor to the direction of mechanism. Relative nutrition and innutrition are prime factors in the application of labor to all arts.

WHO OUR BEST CONSUMERS ARE.

Following these lines, where do we find in fact our best consumers in ratio to numbers? First — In British North America, where approximately five million (5,000,000) well-endowed, well-fed, and well-bred men and women mainly of the same origin with ourselves bought from us goods and wares of every kind in the last fiscal year at the rate of nearly seventeen dollars (\$17) per head of the whole population, being relatively to numbers our largest customers.

Next — The English speaking people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, approximately forty million (40,000,000) in number, bought from us at the rate of thirteen dollars and a half (\$13.50) per head, by far our largest customers on the aggregate — second in amount per capita.

Next — The people of British Guiana, of the British West Indies, and of the Bermudas, under the just and equitable rule of the English common law, were enabled to buy from us in excess of six dollars (\$6) per head. The people of Australia, about five million (5,000,000) in number, far away, with industry as yet but slightly developed, whose produce of wool we fine heavily, thereby reducing their power of purchasing our products, yet bought from us in excess of three dollars (\$3) per head. We may not measure the purchases of British Africa and British Asia because the goods thereto sent are distributed among those who rely upon the English protection for their increasing prosperity, the greater part of our exports being to British Asia and Africa.

ENGLISH SPEAKERS THE BEST BUYERS.

Suffice it, that either the English speaking people themselves or those of other races who have come under the protection and just administration of the

English law have developed the greatest purchasing power in respect to the excess of our own products. It would therefore be consistent with the ordinary rules which govern the conduct of business that we should look to the people of Great Britain and her colonies for the greatest development of our exports, and in order to promote wider and increasing markets we might rightly remove the legislative obstructions with which we have attempted to restrict the import of the goods with which they might pay us for larger and larger quantities of our own products.

There are about five million (5,000,000) in the Dominion of Canada, and there are somewhat in excess of five million (5,000,000) people in the State of New York. The people of the State of New York exchange the products of that State with the people of other States on the east, west, and south. No one can measure in terms of money the volume of trade for mutual benefit which unites the people of this country for mutual interest. One may be very certain that the volume of the exports from the State of New York to New England, to other Middle States and to the Western States, vastly exceeds the share of the exports of the State of New York to the people of the Dominion of Canada. It may be possible that all Canada consumes two (\$2) or three dollars (\$3) per head of the products of the State of New York. How much does all New England consume, and all the other Middle States? Yet if there were no grotesque obstructions to the mutual service which the people of New York and Canada might render to each other, the trade with these two sections might be equal to the trade with the neighboring States with which I have compared it.

LARGE MARKET IN A SMALL SECTION.

Reverting to the purchasing power of other States, the people of France, Germany, Holland and Belgium now number about one hundred and five million (105,000,000). They bought from us under the pressure of a great scarcity of grain in the last fiscal year at the rate of three dollars and a half (\$3.50) per head. It will be observed that so far we have dealt with the purchasing power of the States which have applied modern science and invention to a greater extent than the people of any other countries except our own. All that have been named, except Great Britain, are customarily deficient in the kinds of food which appear to be necessary for the development of the greatest physical energy, mainly animal food; and in proportion to their deficiency, or we might say to their innutrition, is the purchasing power of nations reduced. Yet in this relatively small section of the world with which I have dealt, we found our market for ninety (90) per cent. of our total export.

WANT OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Another prime factor in the development of purchasing power or in its diminution is the existence or want of good government, of sound money and freedom from militarism. Militarism is the curse of modern Europe; bad money the greatest evil next to bad government among the Spanish-American countries; while the necessity of arduous conditions of hand work still existing throughout the greater part of Asia and Africa greatly limits the purchasing power of the greater part of the population of the globe. We can witness elements of progress and change among the Spanish-American States, the increasing purchase of Mexico coincidently with the establishment and maintenance of good government, the constructions of railways and other modern inventions, and yet our traffic with Mexico in proportion to the number of inhabitants is not yet equal to our traffic with British Australia.

The five million (5,000,000) people of British North America bought of us last year eighty-five million dollars' (\$85,000,000) worth of goods; the thirteen

million (13,000,000) people of Mexico bought only twenty-one million dollars' (\$21,000,000) worth. The English speaking people of the Dominion nearly seventeen dollars (\$17) a head; the Spanish-Americans of Mexico, the most progressive State which has been under the evil influences of the Spanish rule, less than two dollars (\$2) per head.

NO BOUNTIES FOR STEAMSHIP LINES.

I do not mean to raise any objection to every effort that can be rightly made looking toward an increase of exports to South and Central America, Asia, Africa, and the Philippine Islands. I do object to all the proposed artificial methods of bounties to steamship lines, and yet more to taking on ourselves the burden of distant colonies. The only effective method of promoting exports is to promote imports from these non-machine-using countries, and in that way increase their purchasing power.

It is often held in support of the policy called protection with incidental revenue that if we put a tax on a foreign product it does not always increase the cost to the consumer, but is sometimes paid by the foreign producer through a reduction in price. Such is sometimes the fact. The price of the foreign product is reduced. But in such case the reduction in the price simply reduces the purchasing power of the producer to buy our goods. It is doubtless true that by the imposition of a duty on the potatoes, oats, and hay of Canada, especially of the Maritime Provinces, the prices in Canada have many times been so much reduced that the products would not pay their cost. Therefore the growers of these products have not only been unable to buy the American goods which they desire, but vast numbers of Canadians have been forced to migrate to the United States season by season, in spite of contract laws, in order to get the means for supporting their families in Canada; thousands coming and going with every season, who might have thriven in Canada by supplying the people of United States with fish, potatoes, oats, barley, and hay to our great benefit, while themselves enjoying an increasing measure of prosperity in their own country.

INVITE IMPORTS OF CRUDE PRODUCTS.

Who would have suffered in this competition? Only a few railways would have been deprived of a part of their freight. The effect of these duties, especially on New England, being only to compel the people of New England to pay for a longer haul on Western food products, while losing a market for their goods in the Maritime Provinces, which by every law of nature and affinity constitute a part of a family group of States lying south of the St. Lawrence and east of the Hudson River, which ought to be united by every possible bond of mutual service and mutual benefit, whatever may be the central government to which they owe allegiance. When the traffic is free from the obstruction of heavy duties imposed for protection with incidental revenue, and also freed from the mediæval absurdities of our navigation laws, our flag will follow our trade to and from all our ports.

We can have all the trade that the purchasing power of these countries and continents will permit their own people to enjoy when we stop the humiliating cry of pauper labor, and invite the imports of the crude and partly manufactured products which, being absolutely free of taxation in Great Britain and nearly if not quite free of taxation in other manufacturing countries, now serve to protect foreign manufacturers to the detriment of our own. But even if we have gains which open ports in Asia, Africa, and Oceania might give us in the next ten years, the larger market in these poor continents and States for our own products would be far less than the same policy would open for us among our kith and kin, the English speaking people of Great Britain and her colonies.

WE MUST DIP THE BUCKET, TOO.

We may well apply to ourselves the story which Booker Washington told when meeting the efforts of the Southern States to induce immigration. He told the story of the captain of the ship far away on the ocean who signalled a neighboring vessel for fresh water. The answer was: "Dip your bucket over the side." Again the urgent signal came: "We must have fresh water." Again the answer: "Dip your bucket over the side." Not until the third time was the reply comprehended, and when the bucket was dipped over the side it brought up the fresh water of the Amazon River, whose current extended far beyond the land. The negroes are waiting for the recognition of the value of their service. The South is rapidly learning how to dip her bucket over the side. The commerce of the English speaking people, who are our kith and kin and our neighbors, the whole world being to-day a neighborhood, is waiting for its rapid development by the exchange of products by which all would benefit alike. Our neighbors signal us again and again: "Dip your bucket over the side." When we learn that lesson, and when the commercial union of the English speaking people has been established, the reign of law and the reign of peace will prevail. No nation burdened with militarism can then compete with us in the supply of the increasing wants of the world at large.

Under a policy of protection with incidental revenue, which is wholly at variance with the policy established by Alexander Hamilton, supported by Clay, assented to after opposition by Webster, and practised for a century of the economic history of this country: at variance also with the principle of tariff reform laid down by the Republican Tariff Commission in 1883, and now at variance with the progress of the very interests which it is intended to protect, the time has arrived when moderate men of all theoretic views are likely to combine in securing a remedy for the perversion of the power of taxation which is even a perversion of the formerly accepted policy named protection, to the end that a simple and effective system of collecting the national revenues may be established, under which "all taxes that the people pay, the Government shall receive," with the least burden or obstruction to the freely chosen pursuits of the people themselves.

IV.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND PRELIMINARY ORGANIZATION.

"A true republic of free men must rest upon the principle that all its citizens are equal under the law; that a government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, and that there must be no taxation without representation. These principles abandoned, a republic exists but in name, and its people lose their rights as free men.

"Planting itself upon these lasting truths, the people of the United States solemnly declared in their constitution that the citizens of each State should have the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States; that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction should be citizens of the United States and the several States, and that the rights of none should be abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"The constitution gives to the United States no more than to the individual the right to hold slaves or vassals, and recognizes no distinction between classes of citizens, one with full rights as free men, and another as subjects governed by military force.

"We are in full sympathy with the heroic struggle for liberty of the people of the Spanish islands, and therefore we protest against depriving them of their rights by an exchange of masters.

"Expansion by natural growth in thinly settled contiguous territory, acquired by purchase for the expressed purpose of ultimate statehood, cannot be confounded with nor made analogous to foreign territory conquered by war and wrested by force from a weak enemy. A beaten foe has no right to transfer a people whose consent has not been asked, and a free republic has no right to hold in subjection a people so transferred.

"No American until to-day has disputed these propositions; it remains for the new imperialism to set up the law of might, and to place commercial gain and a false philanthropy above the sound principles upon which the republic was based. In defence of its position, it has already urged the fallacy of the Declaration of Independence and proclaimed a wisdom superior to that of the framers of the constitution.

"As solemnly as a people could we announced the war to be wholly for humanity and freedom, without a thought, desire, or purpose of gain to ourselves; all that we sought has been accomplished in Cuba's liberation. Shall we now prove false to our declaration and seize by force islands thousands of miles away, whose peoples have not desired our presence, and whose will we have not asked?

"Whatever islands we take must be annexed or held in vassalage to the republic. Either course is dangerous to the physical and moral safety of the nation, inconsistent with our professions, and must result in foreign complications, which will imperil and delay the settlement of pressing financial, labor, and administrative questions at home.

"Impressed with the importance of these views, and recalling the declaration of the President that the war with Spain could never degenerate into a war of conquest, we have deferred action until it has become apparent that pressure

was being brought upon the President to convince him that public opinion demands the inclusion of alien territory and great masses of alien people into the territory of the United States.

"We stand by the President's declaration, and in order to give evidence of the opposition to a foreign expansion policy by a vast body of our people have organized an anti-imperialist league upon the following general plan:

"*First.* — The centre of the movement to be at Washington, with a local secretary there for executive work.

"*Second.* — Committees of correspondence to conduct the work in such manner as to bring together the united efforts of men of repute throughout the country, without regard to party, to deal with the subject in all its aspects, as follows:

"1. The moral iniquity of converting a war for humanity into a war of conquest.

"2. The physical degeneration, the corruption of the blood, and all the evils of militarism which will ensue if the troops are to be kept in the Philippines and elsewhere longer than absolutely necessary to enable a government to be established which will protect life and property.

"3. The political evils and the necessity of preserving the Union upon the principles of its framers.

"4. The clear necessity of large increase of taxes for the support of armies and navies, with a great probability that voluntary enlistment will have to be supplemented by drafts.

"Committees of correspondence have begun work under the name of the Anti-Imperialist League, the first measure being to organize the moral forces of the country for the purpose of presenting the following protest to the President and to the Congress of the United States:

"To the President and the Congress of the United States: The undersigned citizens protest against any extension of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine islands, in any event, or over other foreign territory, without the free consent of the people thereof, believing such action would be dangerous to the Republic, wasteful of its resources, in violation of constitutional principles, and fraught with moral and physical evils to our people."

"Every citizen believing in the above is urged to copy it, obtain immediately as many signatures as possible, and send forward the signed protest to the Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D.C., where the names will be enrolled, without liability to assessment, as members of the league, and the protest presented to the President and Congress.

"Submitted on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, of which the Hon. George S. Boutwell is President.

"ERVING WINSLOW,

"*Secretary.*

"BOSTON, Nov. 19, 1898."

NOTE. — This pamphlet is issued on the sole responsibility of the undersigned, the Anti-Imperialist League having no responsibility. Men holding wholly different views upon financial questions are joined in this League.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

V.

Readers are requested to detach the subsequent protest, paste it on a sheet of suitable paper, procure signatures thereto as rapidly as possible, then forward to the Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D.C., notifying Erving Winslow, Secretary, Boston, of the action taken, giving name and personal address.

NOTICE.

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Address orders to Box 112, Boston, Mass.

Address protest, when signed, to the Secretary of the League, Washington, D.C.

PROTEST OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

To the President and the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned citizens of

protest against any extension of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands, in any event, or over other foreign territory without the free consent of the people thereof, believing such action would be dangerous to the Republic, wasteful of its resources, in violation of constitutional principles, and fraught with moral and physical evils to our people.

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